

CONSIDERATIONS

ON

BOTH SIDES;

OR,

REMARKS

ON THE

CONDUCT of *Great Britain and Holland,*
at the present critical CONJUNCTURE.

IN A

LETTER from a *Person of Distinction*
at the *Hague*, to his Friend at *London*.

D U B L I N :

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Confiderations on Both Sides.

S I R,

AS my Situation in this Place, ever the Center of News and Politics, and in the present Combustion, one of the most busy and interested Spots in *Europe*, must necessarily afford me that opportunity of making such just Remarks, on the Measures and Designs of all the principal Powers in our Quarter of the World, as is no where else to be met with; you may be assured, that I shall not fail constantly transmitting to you, an Account of such Occurrences as I do not expect you will learn from the public Papers; together with my Sentiments on them, and such other Topics as I shall deem worthy of your Notice; therefore, I intend to furnish out this Epistle, with such Remarks on the *Condu&t* of Great-Britain and Holland, as have occured to me during my Residence here; and do not doubt of sufficient Entertainment for you, at this critical Conjunction.

That, in leaving our native Country, we generally relinquish its Prejudices, is, I believe, Sir, what will be readily allowed, especially by you that has travelled: And that the same Object presents itself to our View in different Lights, as we exchange Place, is a Proposition in Philosophy so well founded, as to be incontestable. Hence it is, that I am obliged at the *Hague*, to applaud or censure those Measures, of which I had a contrary Opinion when at *London*. - And I protest that a Trip over the Channel gives Things quite a different Aspect, from what they bear on your Side of the Water; inso-much, that I am almost inclined to think it to be as difficult a Matter, to form a true Judgment of political Measures, from the Light they appear in at any particular Court, as it would be to decide a Cause, on only hearing a single Party. So that in order to weigh Things justly, to arrive at a thorough Knowledge, and from thence to form a true Judgment of Affairs, a Person must either take a View of them from the Places whose

Interests

Interests are concerned therein, or imagine himself to be successively at those Places, when he has them under Consideration. But I hope, Sir, in a great Measure, to save you this Fatigue, either of Body, or Mind. On your perusing with Candour, these Remarks and Sentiments, which I have formed, with no small Pains, by diligently canvassing of Motives, Measures, and Interests, both at Home and Abroad.—Therefore, laying aside that Partiality, so natural for every one to bear toward their native Country, I shall begin my Observations with this just Remark; that since the Commencement of the present War, *Great-Britain* has shewn herself a faithful Ally, a true Friend, and a generous Protector of Liberty, and the distress'd.—A Character so just as cannot be denied, even by her most inveterate Enemies, so famous as will be transmitted to future Ages, and so illustrious, that even *Lewis XV*, in the midst of all his late Conquests and Victories, would give above half his new Acquisitions to obtain.

Whatever *Honour* and *Glory*, this magnanimous Behaviour may have added to our Country, yet, I fear, that it has not been altogether so consistent with her *Credit* and *Interest*: The Wealth and Credit of Nations, as well as those of private Persons, have their Limits and Bottoms; and as any Individual may exhaust his Wealth, or impair his Credit, by being too lavishly generous to a Friend, or Acquaintance in Distress, even so may a Nation, by too great, untimely, or unnecessary a Profusion of its Wealth, on an Ally. That this has been the Case of our Country, will be too evident to any one who considers the Immensity of her present Debt, the Largeness of its Interest, and the prodigious Sums that have been exhausted from her by Jews, Money-Scriveners, Stock-Jobbers, Usurers, &c. &c. &c. for several Years past; who constantly attend on her in a Time of Distress, as Vultures and Ravens on an Army, against the Day of Battle; in hopes of satiating their greedy Maws with her Blood and Vitals.—However obvious her Case may appear from these Considerations and Reflections, yet, Sir, to me it is more evident, and makes the greater Impression, as in this Place it is daily

the Object of my Senses; where my Ears are continually disturbed with the rattling of the Coaches, and my Eyes unwillingly attracted with the glaring Equipages of those Persons, who have scarce any other Fortunes, than what arises from the Money they have in our Stocks, and the extravagant Interest we are obliged to pay for Sums borrow'd on Emergencies, of which the Cormorants of this Country never fail to make singular Advantage.—That some of our Natives should grow opulent by the Necessities of the Public, is in a Manner insupportable, as their Country can have no Retaliation by their Riches being spent therein: But that we should become the Prey of mercenary *Foreigners*, and our People labour for the Enrichment of the Inhabitants of another Land, and suffer the Sweat of their Brows to be annually exported and amassed to their Disadvantage.—That we should permit the *Balance* of our *Trade* to be continually kept up against us, by the Interest of our Foreign Debts, is surprising: and however glorious might be the Views that have brought these Calamities upon us, yet I fear, Sir, they are far from being justifiable, either by *Prudence*, or *Common-Sense*.

That Notion of our borrowing Money amongst ourselves, whilst we enjoy a free Parliament, being like lending out of one Hand into another, is too puerile to be confuted by Argumentation; especially as the Experience of several Years, and the Evidence of every one, that pays any Share of the public Taxes, must be entirely contradictory to it. And if ever it should be the Misfortune of the Nation to become Bankrupt to particular Persons, I fear, rich as we imagine ourselves, it will afford the Creditors a very small Dividend. But as the present national Debt does not amount to above seventy Millions, we need be under no Apprehension, thank Heaven! for the present Age; and it is the Business of Posterity, to take Care for itself.—However, if I should be mistaken in my Opinion, and that the Measures we have undertaken, in what is called the Support of the common Cause, should have rather advanced than weakened the Credit of the Nation, and that amidst a decaying Trade, and increasing Debts and Taxes, ingenuously

nuously confess the Case to be so strangely paradoxical, as to exceed the narrow Bounds of my Comprehension, even as far as that would of a private Trader, who, for Want of Custom, is obliged to live upon the *Borrow* and *Spend*, and yet maintains his Credit, gains Strength, when he must be sensible, that tho' it encreases in Largeness, according to the Number of his Creditors, yet, like all ill Tumours, the more it enlarges, the more the Patient is weaken'd, and if suffered to encrease, may become quite emaciated.

Having thus observed what Relation our *heroic* and *praise worthy* Behaviour stands in, with regard to our Credit, I shall proceed to remark, the Adequateness of the *faithful Ally*, the *true Friend*, and the *generous Protector* of *Liberty* and the *Distressed*, with our real Interests.—It is an old Saying, that *'Tis Pity fine Weather should ever do harm*: and I aver, it is Pity that so glorious a Behaviour as *Great Britain* has displayed, on the present Occasion, in Support of her undoubted Character, should ever have the Misfortune to clash with her *Credit* and *Interest*. That the latter has very little Concern in the present War, farther than with regard to our Quarrel with *Spain*, is to me very obvious: Could we oblige *Spain* to settle all Disputes relating to our Trade and Navigation in the *West-Indies*, what else has our Interest to do with other Powers on the Continent, unless it be the bringing of *France* into a Compliance of yielding up to us *Cape Breton*, and such other Conquests in *America* as we do, or shall think worth the keeping?—But are either of these to be accomplished by any Acquisitions the *Austrians* or *Sardinians* shall make, at our Expence, in *Italy*; or any that may accrue to our Arms in the *Netherlands*?—If we consider ourselves as a trading People, it is certain that the extending of our Commerce is the great Interest and Concern of the Nation; the Improvement of the least Branch thereof, is of more Advantage to *Great Britain* than the Conquest of the largest City, or Town in the *Netherlands*; as our Acquisitions there, were they even tenable, must be exceeding burdensome.

It is very possible, Sir, that on this Head, you may differ with me in two Points.—First, in imagining, that we were obliged to assist the Queen of *Hungary* (as we have already done) to the utmost of our Force, because the *Balance of Power* was in Danger,—And, secondly, that we are absolutely, by all the Ties of Interest, Friendship, and Safety, obliged to succour the *Dutch* in the present Invasion of their Dominions. In canvassing of these Points, Sir, I would have it observed, that our assisting the House of *Austria* in the Manner we have done, by transporting our Forces into the *Netherlands*, without the Junction, or even Approbation of the *Dutch*, has, in a great measure, been the Occasion of plunging our *High* and *Mighty Allies* into those Difficulties that they are at present involved in. — This, I say, Sir, together with their inert Supineness, even in performing what they were bound to by Treaty, on the Part of the House of *Austria*, has been the real Cause of their present Distress. — For had we been so happy as to be less strict in the Performance of our Engagements, or the States-General more tenacious of theirs, Affairs would perhaps have been in a much pleasanter Situation than at present: and it is probable, that so far from seeing the *Dutch* Territories invaded, we might have beheld, even their *Barrier*, in their own Possession.—And here, Sir, I must beg leave to remark to you, that this Observation greatly corroborates the Sentiments that I advanced at my first setting out, concerning the Difficulty of judging on political Matters, from the Light they appear in at any particular Court.—For it is very reasonable to think, that had the *Dutch*, who are somewhat nearer the Beam than *Great Britain*, really imagined the Political Ballance to be in the same Degree of Danger as was apprehended on your Side of the Water, their *High Mightinesses* would certainly have exerted themselves, in endeavouring to prevent those destructive Consequences wherewith, in the Opinion of your Court, all *Europe* seem'd to be threatened.

On the contrary, neither the *Dutch*, nor any other of the *European* Powers, seem'd under the least Concern for that remote Danger; which we had made the principal

cipal Object of our Care, which, had it been real, must certainly have made some of them to tremble. But we, *Quixote* like, immediately arm'd, *Cap-à-pe*, and bravely engaged the Phantom of our Imaginations, at the Expence of some Millions, both of Men and Money, and at the risk of our Liberties, Constitution, and all that was dear to us: 'till that at length, by handling the Weights and Scales with too much Roughness, and too little Judgment, we have nearly brought the *Ballance* to that Over-poize, which we affected so much to dread.

Having thus examined the Necessity of our entering into the War in the Manner we did, under Apprehensions, that the *Ballance of Power* was in imminent Danger, and shewn the Absurdity thereof, I shall now proceed to the second Point, which was almost entirely occasioned by the former; and enquire whether we are so absolutely obliged to succour our Neighbours, at this critical Conjunction, as some People may be apt to imagine.—It is certain, as I before observed, that our transporting Troops to the Continent occasion'd the Quarrel between Us and *France*; and the *Dutch*, bound by their Engagements, both to us and the Queen of *Hungary*, were by Degrees brought into the Scrape, tho' much against their Inclinations; had they joined us with that Resolution and Vigour as becomes a good Ally, Things had not been at the pass they are in at present, but their Complaisance to the *French* Court, their Timorousness and Avarice, occasioned them, far from assisting their Allies, to neglect even their own *Barrier*.—So that our *Money* and *Forces*, their *Barrier Towns*, and now, even their Territories, are fallen a Sacrifice to that Power they had so much courted; whose specious Shew of Friendship they had so long set in Competition with the true, and often experienced Amity of *Great-Britain*. Therefore, altho' our Rashness in entering upon a War with *France*, without their Concurrence, may justly be deemed the *primary* Cause of their Misfortunes, yet, Sir, their own voluntary Lukewarmness, and their Conduct, may with the same Equity, be ascertained as the *contingent*, or *eventual* Cause of their present Miseries and

Distress. In the same Manner as tho' a Person depending upon the Obligations, Veracity and Friendship of his Neighbour, (whose Interests are nearly the same) should engage in a Law-suit, without asking his Advice or Concurrence; and this Neighbour, by neglecting to assist him with a few kind Offices, altho' bound by former Obligations, should suffer him to be cast, and thus, by his Inertness, give Encouragement to the other's Antagonist, 'till he brings him on his own Back.-- In this Case, who were most to blame, the Person that entered upon the Law-suit, or his supine Neighbour? whose Indolence in assisting his Friend brings the Cause to his own Door.

Notwithstanding this, Sir, we have here, at the *Hague*, some *Dutch Partizans* of so sanguine Constitutions, as to urge that we are indispensably bound to assist them *Vi et Armis*, with our whole Force, on the present Occasion.—It is true, that *Great-Britain* and *Holland* are bound by Treaties to assist each other to the utmost, upon any Attack on either's Territories:—But the Ties of Alliances, and all other Engagements, are reciprocal, between the contracting Parties; and so far as they are observed by the one Party, so far ought they to be kept by the other, and no farther. If then we come to examine how strictly the *Dutch* have performed the Engagements they were under to assist *Great-Britain* on the like Occasion, I fear we shall nearly find the Obligation void.--It is certain, they furnish'd us both with Shipping and Troops,---to about half the Complement stipulated by Treaties:---and took such Caution about their entering into Action to defend us, that---the one was unprovision'd, and half-mann'd, and the others tied down from Fighting. Such, Sir, 'tis well known, was their Behaviour, when not only a profess'd Enemy, but a bigotted and arbitrary Pretender to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, was in the Heart of the Kingdom. Happy for us, at that Juncture, to have other Dependancies besides those on our High and Mighty Faithful Allies!--and whether, upon this Occasion they were not guilty of an entire In-

Infringement of all Treaties of Alliance, Sanction and Guarantee between them and us, I must leave to be discussed by the long-headed *Politicians* of *Europe*.

As it is the Nature of these People to proceed with the utmost Deliberation and Wariness, even on the most emergent Occasions, so it is their constant Maxim to adjust every Step with their *Interest* and *Safety*. And as the *States* have all along made use of this cautious Behaviour towards us, at the most pressing and critical Conjunctions, I do not see any Reason why the same Deportment should not also be practised on our Side :---Or wherefore it is not as necessary for us, as for our Neighbours, to make our *Welfare* and *Safety* the Guide of our *Conduct*.---If this be the Case, Sir, and that, notwithstanding their Tardiness in performing their Engagements towards us, we are still bound by mutual *Interests*, reiterated *Treaties*, or common *Wrongs*, to the Assistance of the *Dutch*, with our whole Force; yet, Sir, it is to be hoped, that it will be performed with that Prudence and OEconomy as always to leave us wherewithal to help ourselves on any Exigency, either for the Preservation of our Trade, for the Support of the Crown, or Liberties of the People of *Great-Britain*.

From what I have already observed, Sir, it is evident that our magnanimous Conduct has not been altogether so consistent with our *Credit* and *Interest*, as myself, and all other true *Britons*, could have heartily wished it to have been.---And if those two prevailing Motives of *Credit* and *Interest* are deficient, in accounting for our arduous Behaviour at this Juncture, much more so must be that of our Safety, which I cannot imagine to be in the least concerned; unless it could be prov'd, as some timorous People are too ready to apprehend, that the Peace and Security of *Great-Britain* is entirely involved with that of the *United Provinces*.

That such a Maxim may be adopted by some of our present *Republican Anglo-Patriots*, is too apparent to be denied: But the Absurdity thereof cannot fail of being

being conspicuous, even to the most zealous *Partizan* amongst the *Hollanders* themselves :—Who is it the least read in History but must know, that the Constitution and Liberties of both *England* and *Scotland*, existed independant of any other Power, or State, Centuries before the present illustrious Republick of the Seven United Provinces had Being as a Commonwealth ? and even when the Dominion and Arms of *France* was not less extensive or powerful, than we have the Misfortune to find them at present.—Was it not under the auspicious Influence and Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, (of happy Memory) that the *Seven Provinces* flung off the *Spanish* Yoke ? And was not *Great Britain* that kind Nurse, or rather Foster-Mother, as to rear the young *Bantling*, 'till it began to pick at the Eyes of its indulgent Parent, and aim at the Lives of her natural born Children.—Surely *Amboyna*, tho' not recent in Memory, is not so entirely buried in Oblivion as to be obliterated in the Memoirs of these Times.—But not to repeat Grievances, let me ask the most sanguine *Republican*, whether *Great-Britain*, the Guardian and Protectress of the *Dutch* State in its Infancy, had not a natural Right to its kind Offices and Friendship in its Maturity, as far above the Ties and Bands of formal Alliances and Engagements, as paternal Duties are above those of common Amity ?

Again, let me demand what Strefs *Oliver Cromwell* laid on *Great Britain's* Safety being so thoroughly engaged with that of the United Provinces as to be dependent thereon ? Or on the contrary, was it not, in his time, rather thought, that the States depended, for their Safety, on the Prosperity and Well-being of *Great-Britain* ; — And does not even the present Invasion, made by *France* upon the Territories of the States General of the United Provinces, evidently manifest the Necessity they are under of maintaining a good Correspondence with *Great-Britain* ? on whose Friendship they must rely for the Support of their own Independancy :—The great Use that our Succours,
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both by Sea and Land, have been to them on this Occasion, and the universal Joy with which they were received, by the Inhabitants of these Provinces, of which I was an Eye-Witness, render this Truth so indisputable, that to me, who am, as I may say, upon the Spot of Action, it appears very probable that had it not been for the laudable and timely Assistance of *Great-Britain*, the Arms of *France*, would long before this, have penetrated into the very Heart of the *Dutch Territories*.

As the Evidence of Facts always exceed the Force of the strongest Arguments, the Consideration, Sir, and Comparison of the late recent Invasion of the *British* Dominions, and present Invasion of those of the States General, by the *French*, will set the Point of their Dependancy on each other in a true Light — *Britain* labouring, not only under a foreign Invasion, but also under an unnatural and expensive Rebellion, excited and supported by the united Powers of *France* and *Spain*, and the Forces of the former joined to those of her rebellious Subjects, under the Command of the Son of a Pretender to her Crown and Dominions, and penetrating to her very Center,—nay even approaching her Capitol.—Under these deplorable Circumstances, and unassisted, or rather t—ch—ly assisted by her Allies, by Shipping, without Men or Provisions, and Forces disabled from fighting, by Articles of Capitulation; who, had they been brought into the Field might (by giving the Enemy such unexpected Advantage as the peaceable Behaviour they were tied down to afforded) have proved our Ruin;—Yet, even in the midst of these Troubles, Vexations and Disappointments, *Great-Britain* found herself able, by her own Strength, to overcome such of her Enemies Forces as had invaded her at that time, to deter them from attempting another, with which she was daily threatened:—To suppress and extinguish entirely the Rebellion,—and to effectuate all this under the lamentable and grievous Burden of a Foreign War, into which she had too rashly plunged herself, for the
Security

Security of her indolent and ungrateful Allies and Neighbours? by whose *fraudulent* Manner of Assistance, she might have been ruined, and who were so far from arming, either to defend themselves or their Ally, at this pressing Juncture, that they had even the Indolence—the Arrogance—or the Avaritiousness, to demand Assistance of her, whose Entrails were bleeding by their Supineness:—And she had that extreme Good-nature as to assist them with what little Strength she had left:—thereby postponing, for a whole Twelve Months, those Evils, with which their timorous Conduct daily threatened them.

Thus far have I laid down the Situation and Conduct of *Great-Britain* on her Invasion; now for that of the *United Provinces*:—*France* has lately entered their Territories with Fire and Sword, and it is certain, that they feel and lament, at present, those Miseries in themselves, which formerly they neglected to pity or redress in their Neighbours.—But how do they behave in their Misfortunes?—Why, truly with their usual Indolence:—Their own dearly beloved *Security*, their own greedy *Avarice*, their own native *Sloveness* sunk them into the Abyss; and now they rely on the Good-nature of their Neighbours, bound by an imaginary Dependancy to help them out. Set the Case that her Enemies were at this present Juncture (which God forbid) able again to invade *Great-Britain*, could their High-Mightinesses return her the good Offices observed to them when she was in much greater Distress than they are at present?—Could they furnish her with a Vessel, or a Man?—Can they even defend themselves, without her Assistance? And should the *French Arms* prevail farther in their Dominions, must not even those Forces with which they have furnished the Allied Army, be obliged soon to return to the Defence of their own Country?—Wherein then does their boasted Power consist, or that Miserable *Dependence*, which some of our *Republican* Statesmen would have *Great-Britain* to be under, on an Ally, without the least of whose Assistance, she has often manifested her

her Ability to extricate herself out of the greatest Difficulties and Dangers ?

I fear, Sir, that upon this Topic, my Zeal for the Independancy of my native Country, may have led me into some exaggerating Expressions that I should have chosen to avoid, could I have possibly used more Force and less Warmth on the Subject ; as you might, perhaps, think the last more suitable for the present Juncture :---But you are sensible, Sir, that I never was addicted to *Time-Serving*,---and, as a true *Briton*, was always zealous for the Rights, Liberties, and Independancy of my Country ; for the latter of which, there was never more Occasion to be arduous than at present, when some of our Leaders are apt to imagine the Interests of *Great-Britain* so united with those of the Continent, as to bring us into a Sort of Dependancy upon every little *Potentate* in *Europe* ; who must be humoured with *Subsidies*, assisted with Forces, or perhaps supplied with both, at our Expence, on the least trifling Quarrel that may happen between them and their Neighbours,---However this mean Spirit of Dependancy may actuate upon our *Quondam-Patriots*, weak *Statesmen*, and imbecile *M-----s* ; or however it may operate on the Cou---ls of the Nat---n ;---let the crafty Politician employ it to cover his ambitious, corrupt and destructive Designs---let it be used in every monstrous Imposition upon a credulous *Public* ? yet I shall ever boldly assert, that *Great-Britain* is, and I hope will long continue, the most Free and Independant Power in *Europe*.---An *Independancy*, Sir, that even Nature points out to us, by the Advantageous Situation in which we are placed ; which the Experience of many Centuries evinces our Ability to maintain ; and will not suffer us to be ignorant, that our native Strength and Valour, joined to our Wooden-Walls, is the sole Dependance, that she ought to trust to, even in the greatest Dangers.---This Truth, Sir, is so natural and indisputable, so consistent with the very Being of our Constitution and Liberties, that whoever calls it in Question ought to be look'd upon as an open Enemy. And to me, it is so very manifest, that

that I dare venture to declare, was the *Grand Signior* Master of the whole Continent, I should not be, even then, in more Dread for our Constitution and Liberties, so long as we had any Strength left, as what many of our Countrymen affect, on the least distant Disturbance in *Europe*:—Surely, even then, we might be able to withstand Tyranny as bravely as the *Rhodians*!—and, like them, find some comfortable *Malta*, some *Asylum* in our *American* Territories, capable of maintaining and supporting the Remains of brave and true *Britons*!

It is true, that as we are a free, independant, protestant People, the Love and Estimation that we have for all, or any of these Blessings, must cause us, especially as *Christians*, to wish a universal Participation thereof to others.—Hence it is, and hence only, that we are under any Motive, or Obligation to concern ourselves about any Thing that may happen on the Continent of *Europe*—Not from any imaginary Security, from a distant visionary Danger;—Not from our Apprehensions of the Balance of Power;—nor from any unknown, inexplicable Notion of our Dependency on any State, or Potentate in the World... And even then, when we become concerned for any State from the Conformity that may exist between their religious or civil Liberties and ours, we ought to use the Caution of not becoming either the first, or chief Person, concerned. Nor indeed, can I imagine any Affair that ought to induce us, on any Occasion, to enter as Principals into a War on the Continent.—If the Party for whom we interest ourselves be a *Protestant*, we ought to afford him our Assistance, provided we find that he was not the first Aggressor, but if he was, then we should employ our Mediation to the utmost, to compromise the Dispute:—And however it be, our Religion should oblige us not to suffer any Protestant Power to be over-run by a Popish one; on this Condition, that they are as willing to exert and defend themselves as their Abilities will permit, and that they do not, through Indolence, Avarice, Self-Interest, or any other View, neglect their own Defence, so much as to fling themselves
entirely

entirely on our Hands, by relying on the Obligations we are under from our Religion, or Good-nature, to protect them.

As for the Romish Powers, we should not in the least enter upon their Quarrels, but leave them to finish their Affairs as soon, or as late, or even just as they please; excepting when (which is very rare) that they happen to be a free People, and are struggling for the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind, against some over-grown Tyrant.—Then our Love for Liberty will induce us, as a free People, to give them some Assistance, but always with this Caution, that it can be done without being detrimental to ourselves: In both these Cases, we should ever have that Regard, that we foment not Insurrections, nor endeavour at the bringing about Revolutions, for no other End but to make an unhappy People change one Tyrant for another, and plunge ourselves into immense Expences, Dangers and Inconveniencies.

And here, Sir, I will pay that Respect to our good Allies, the *States-General*, as to acknowledge, that *Great Britain* ought to assist them as far as both their Interests are mutual—their Treaties between them solemnly observed—or the Wrongs that are done to either Party prove common to both. And every one of these Points may render a strict Union of Affections and Forces between them, which may be stronger and more natural, than that of an implicit Dependency.—But supposing that the Ties of Interests, Treaties, and common Injuries are all prevalent at present, to excite our succouring them; I say, imagining all this, still there is an apparent Necessity for that Concert of Councils and Efforts, adequate to the present Exigency, as may render such an Union of the two Powers salutary to themselves, effectually detrimental to their Enemies, and awful in the Eyes of all the rest of *Europe*.—But whether the present Interests of *Great Britain* and the *United Provinces* are so reciprocal as could be wished,—the Treaties between them so punctually observed as should be expected, the Wrongs done to either Side so injurious to both as is imagined,—Or, whether

whether there has been that Co-operation of Councils and Efforts between each other, as the Necessity of the present Juncture strictly requires? I shall leave to your Examination, Consideration and Judgment to determine; heartily wishing that you may find sufficient Proof to pronounce for the Affirmative of the Question. —But if the contrary should appear to you more evident, as I am much afraid it will, and that you are obliged to give a Negation to the Points in Dispute, I then, Sir, would have you bestow a few Moments to enquire which Party has been the Cause of that Disunion of Affections and Forces, and Disconcert of Councils and Measures, as will on such a Result, evidently appear to you. And from what is before observed, I shall venture to pronounce, that you will find it not owing to the *British* Zeal and Fortitude, which has been so constantly exhibited throughout the War, but that, on the contrary, the imperfect Union that exists between Us and our *antient Allies*, is entirely the Effect of their irresolute, dilatory and timorous Conduct.

Thus, Sir, having as I hope, evinced to you the just and good-natured Part that *Great-Britain* has taken on the present Occasion, by which she has exposed herself to the *injurious Usage* of her faithless *Friends*, and heavy *Insults* of her inveterate Enemies; having examined into the Measures that have been pursued by our good Friends and Allies, the *States-General*, at this important Juncture, and plainly represented the *Obligations* that we lie under to assist them, as far as we can do it, without hurting ourselves, or may be consistent with our Interest and Safety;—having also enquired into, and I hope exploded, that unjust Notion, of our Liberties and Safety being dependant on the Being or Welfare of any State in *Europe*;—I should here have taken my Leave for the present, did not some late Measures, entered into by the *Dutch*, the vigorous Defence of their Territories, and the strong Ministerial Assurances (which have lately been spread on your Side of the Water,) that the Union between *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, was never more perfect than.

than at present.—These Topics, Sir, oblige me to retard my Conclusion, hoping that you will indulge me with your Patience and Attention a little longer, lest these interesting Points should seem to contradict those Observations that I have already offered.

It is certain, Sir, that the *French* Invasion of the Territories of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*, was a Thunder-stroke to the Republic; it was unexpected and unprovided against, being the Result of a single Council held at *Versailles*, and executed on the very Day that the *French* King's Declaration was communicated to the States.—Their High Mightinesses had too long relied on the fine Protestations of the *French* Court, and the specious Sincerity of their Ambassador residing there; and were so far from any Apprehensions from that Quarter, that they neglected to supply those Towns with sufficient Garrisons, that were capable of Defence; or to repair the Fortifications of others, lest it should give Umbrage to their complaisant and polite Neighbours; even altho' the Armies of *France* were continually approaching their Confines, the very Sound of their Cannon roaring in their Ears, and the Troops of the *French* King only waiting the Signal to invade them; whilst by their amazing Stupor, Insensibility and Supineness, they neglected the Army of the Allies, whereby it was rendered incapable to defend them; being weak in Number, but made much weaker by the Discouragement from the Failure of the Succours promised to them by their High Mightinesses.

What the Consequence of this Conduct was, is easier, Sir, for you to imagine than for me to explain to you tho' residing on the Spot.—Fears, Jealousies, Alarms, Mobs, Tumults and Outrages immediately spread like a Deluge throughout the Seven Provinces. I think, Sir, that I have heard you relate your being once in this Country, at the Time of a large Inundation; and that you express'd great Anxiety at the Tumults and Uneasiness of the People on that Occasion. But I assure you, Sir, that had the Ocean made its Way thro' every Bank that surrounds

rounds the *Dutch* Dominions, it could not have given greater Alarm to the Inhabitants than did this sudden Invasion. And such was the Fury of the Populace, on this Event, that I am thoroughly persuaded, had the *French* been able, or dextrous enough at that Time, to have attacked the United Provinces in two Places at once, it would nearly have caused the Ruin of this Republic.

It was now that the *French* Flint and Steel caused the *Dutch* Tinder to take fire ; but such was its natural Dampness, that all the Art of *Britain* could scarce light a Match by it.—It is true, that this Event caused the *Hollanders* to change their Position, and they who had so long kept their Faces to *Paris*, and their Backsides turned towards *London*, now, on the sudden facing about, turned their Breeches to the *French*, and with Tears in their Eyes, humbly implored the Succour from *Great-Britain* ; which she, according to her usual Good-nature, immediately granted, without the least Hesitation or Delay.—Altho' the Measures of the *French* seemed teeming with Destruction, yet this sudden Stroke really brought about a very unexpected Event, directly contrary to what the *French* seemed to design should result from their Operations.—They flattered themselves that this vigorous Push would oblige the States-General to withdraw their Forces from the Allied Army, and immediately to enter into a Treaty of Neutrality :—But on the contrary, the extraordinary Commotions of the People at this Juncture, and the vigorous Exertion and pressing Instances of the Friends of the House of *Nassau*, obliged the States to elect a *Stadtholder* ; which high Dignity they could not confer on any other than the Prince of *Orange*, whom they happily appointed ; and came the readier into this Measure, as they knew it would be highly agreeable to the Court of *London*.—Thus, the *French* Arms joined with their inward Commotions, rous'd the *Hollanders* out of that Lethargy in which they had so long slept ; and the *Dutch* Power, that had been for many Years declining, seemed again restored by this judicious electing a *Stadtholder*

holder of the glorious House of *Nassau*, so nearly related by several Ties of Blood to the Royal Family on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, as could not fail of giving her great Pleasure, and affording some Satisfaction for those immense Expences that she had been at, for the Security of the United Provinces.

As this sudden Event fixed the Eyes and Attention of all *Europe* upon the *Hollanders*, it was universally expected, that they would not hesitate a Moment upon declaring War against *France*, and vigorously joining the Allies, *totis viribus*: But here again their High Mightinesses dropt short, neither did their new elected *Stadtholder*, notwithstanding the many Obligations he lay under to the *British* Court, that had constantly espoused his Interest, on all Occasions, avail himself of this pressing Emergency, by pushing so desirable a Resolution with that Vigour as was expected:—So that, on this Occasion, our Hopes were again blasted, and our Expectations deceived, notwithstanding that we had so long and so cruelly suffered for the Security of the United Provinces, and for want of the States co-operating with us, had hitherto borne all the Burden of a dilatory, expensive and ineffectual War; and had loaded ourselves with those Debts and Difficulties, for the Safety and Regard of our indolent Neighbours, from which, neither ourselves, nor our Posterity, will hardly ever be able to get free.

The *Dutch*, Sir, are too cunning and politic a People ever to be at a Loss for a specious Excuse for their dilatory Proceedings: And as they did not seem inclined, even as yet, to embark heartily with the Allies, by publicly declaring War against *France*, so they did not want for a plausible Pretext on this Occasion; which many Politicians here, that know somewhat of the Secret of Affairs, do not fail asserting to be a remarkable *Fineſſe* of the *Stadtholder's*,—who observed, that as the Parliament of *Great-Britain* must determine at the End of another Session it was uncertain, whether the new Parliament, then to be chosen, would approve of the present War, or the Manner of carrying it on: therefore, that it were better for the States to defer entering
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into the War as Principals, 'till they had the Concurrence of a new Parliament that would have seven Years Duration.—I confess, Sir, that when this was first broached at the *Hague*, I was amazed at the Confidence, or rather Assurance of the *Dutch*, who tho' imploring our Assistance to defend their Territories, yet delayed the declaring War against the Common Enemy for no other Reason than this I have given you.—But how much the greater, Sir, must you imagine my Astonishment to be, when I heard that the *B—ß* Ministry were so very obliging to the States, upon this Head, as even to advise the *K—g* to an immediate Dissolution of the Parliament:—The first, I believe, that ever you will find recorded in History, to be dissolved for the Pleasure or Gratification of an Ally.—I shall not here enter upon the great Inconvenience which this Measure must occasion to many worthy and honest Country-Gentlemen, as being foreign to my Purpose:—but only observe, that if the Resolutions of the *States-General* have such an extraordinary Effect upon the Councils of *G—t-B—n*, it is high Time to sound the Trumpet of Alarm; lest we should really become as dependant upon the *Hollanders*, as we at present are imagined to be; and that *B—n*, tho' still bearing the Name of a Kingdom, should in Effect be no more than an eighth Province, under the Superintendancy of the seven former United ones.

O my Country! my Country! how art thou fallen!

Thus much for the late extraordinary Measures of the *Dutch*: Now, Sir, as to the vigorous Defence of their own Territories:—It is well known, notwithstanding the Care of their High Mightinesses to conceal it, that the States have not lately wanted for Men, or Money; and that the *Hollanders*, when they have found their Country and their Liberties to be really attacked, have never failed making a gallant Defence. The Spirit of Liberty, Sir, breathes strong in the Generality of the People, however it may be degenerated amongst the Deputies or Representatives: And that
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little Master-piece of *Coehorn*, I mean, *Bergen-op-zoom*, by making so gallant a Defence as it did, greatly enlivened the Spirits of the drooping *Republic*.—It is indeed, Sir, much more than what was expected here at first;—most People at the *Hague*, for want of being thoroughly acquainted with the Strength of the Works and the Honour of the Governour, were under great Apprehensions of its falling a Sacrifice to *French Gold*; whether it has or no, Time, the great Revealer of Truths, will discover. Here, Sir, I cannot help observing to you how many Thousands of Lives and Millions of Money it would have saved *Great Britain*, had the States General of the United-Provinces been as zealous for the Defence of their Frontier, as they have been for their *Dutch Territories*.—Had the Fortifications of *Menin*, *Ypres* and *Tournay*, (fully as capable of Defence) been in as good Repair as those of *Bergen-op-zoom*, or had their Garrisons been as well supplied with Troops, we then, perhaps, had never known that dreadful Day of Slaughter and Havock, when so many of our brave Countrymen fell a Sacrifice at *Fontenoy* to the Indolence and Avarice of the *Hollanders*, by their Indifference for the Defence of their *Barrier Towns*.

Yet, Sir, from what I have before-observed, concerning their not taking the present Opportunity to declare War against *France*, when their Dominions are invaded with Fire and Sword, and the frivolous Excuses made use of, to give colour to their Measures, makes me distrust the States being (except for their own particular Safety) so sanguine in the common Cause as could be wished.—And their Concurrence with the Measures that *Great-Britain* has all along pursued, especially at this Juncture, leaves great room to doubt, whether ‘*that Union between her and the Republic, so necessary for both, was never more cordial, or better established than at present*: altho’ this was authentically published, at the Close of the last Parliament, in a Piece that is well known to be a ministerial Composition, which indeed caused every one here to imagine that the two Powers had lately entered into some Engagements

agements for their mutual Interests and Defence, stronger than had been formerly, altho' not then made public:—But had there been any such extraordinary Affairs concerted, Time would certainly have divulged them long before this.

Had the *Hollanders*, Sir, been as true to their Interest as *Great-Britain* has shewn herself, we might, long before this, have been in some Hopes of bringing *France* to just Terms. Had they seconded us, by entering vigorously into the War, or had they, for Reasons best known to themselves, fairly accepted of the Neutrality offered them, we should have better known what Measures were to be pursued:—But the *Janus* Face that they kept to both Courts drove us into immense Difficulties and Expences, and has brought those Evils upon them which they now lament.—In a Word, Sir, the Conduct of the *Dutch*, for some Years past, cannot be better displayed than in the *Sarcastical* Answer of the King of *Prussia*, to their Minister demanding Succours of His Majesty,—‘ I knew, said that penetrating Monarch, Things would come to this pass, but am surprized that the States General have passed away Years in deliberating how to suffer their Country to be taken by Assault, and now on a sudden demand Succours from me.—I did not expect this.—I am sorry for their being put into so great a Fright, but it is by no means a proper Season to demand Succours from me—I must now deliberate, in my turn, and must consult My Friends and Allies, before doing a Thing of such Importance, which may possibly give some of them Offence.’—Whatever Reasons his *Prussian* Majesty may have for being so tart upon their High Mightinesses at this Juncture, owing, as is supposed, to their refusing him to guarantee *Silesia*, in conjunction with *Great Britain*; yet that Monarch’s Sentiments on this Occasion, confirms the Remarks that present themselves in this Epistle: In which, Sir, I have, to the utmost avoided all Partiality, by equally censuring the rash, unaccountable Conduct of *Great Britain*, and the *Dutch* Stupor, Timidity and Double-Dealing; neither do I imagine that

that you can charge me with exaggerating any Point ; for had I chosen to aggrandize Matters, I should have taken notice of the *Dutch* insisting, during the whole Course of the War, to have their Ships exempted from Capture, tho' carrying contraband Goods :—Their neglecting to fit out a Fleet, at this Juncture, which by attacking the naval Strength of *France*, and destroying their Commerce, might afford the surest Means of bringing her to Reason :—Their permitting Trade to be carried on with *France*, and not publishing an Order for the committing Hostilities against the Enemy by Sea, which only the States of the Province of *Zealand* has done ; as tho' the Declaration of War published by one Province, was giving us sufficient Satisfaction for six others living in Peace, and trading with the Enemy ; nay, perhaps, supplying them with warlike Stores, as they did during the last War, to our great Detriment.—All these Things, Sir, you find I have carefully avoided touching on, and have only remarked the Justness of the Conduct of both Parties ; wherein it appears, that *Great Britain* has sacrificed her Credit and Interest, for the Humour, Indolence, Peace and Safety of the *Hollanders*.—That she has all along acted the Part of the true Friend and good Ally to the States, whilst they have been defective in both.—Tho' what I have before observed, in exploding the reigning Notion of the Times, concerning the Independancy of *Great Britain* on the *Dutch*, may not, perhaps be so well relish'd by some Gentlemen, at this Juncture, as I could wish ; yet you are sensible, Sir, it is not the less evident for being unpleasing, tho' Men may shut their Eyes against the Sun, to become insensible of the Light, yet nevertheless they cannot avoid feeling the Warmth of his Beams ;—So, tho' the Prejudices of the present Age may deny my Position, yet the Evidence of *Cromwell's*, and the preceding Times, nay, even the Instances of the late *Rebellion*, if duly and impartially attended to, fully justify my Assertion.—What I would chiefly have *Great Britain* to observe, at the present Conjuncture, is a
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strict Regard for her own Safety, Interest and Welfare, without making them dependant on those of any other Nation : — And that at this Time, she would adhere closely to that plain Precept of our Forefathers (much wiser in their Generation, than seeming Statesmen in ours) which is couched in this Adage, viz. *When the next House is on Fire, before you take care of your own.*

But should the Interest of *Great Britain*, or that of her Neighbour and Ally prevail on the present Occasion ; yet, Sir, be assured that

I am, always,

Hague, September 20^o 1747.

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.